2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

593 562 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 855 [601] When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qɮz (daughter). As the children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the 852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year, depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own [582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted

[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 33.
[23] *Description des hordes*, 356–57.
[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.
[25] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is 852 done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1)

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her 576 husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire 551 lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eb yatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz).

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Chalia Kazakhs, i.e., the

/219 cont./

844 Births take place under the same conditions as among the peasants in the remote corners of our fatherland. A midwife is present, who has recourse to rough methods in difficult cases, not infrequently causing the death of the woman in labor. On
553 the fifth day the child is given a name, usually by the midwife (it is usually the name of some object -- bridle, whip, vessel, cord, etc., in general whatever comes into the head). More rarely the name is given by the aksakal, and then it is given in memory of some well-known ancestor of the clan, or the name may be given by the mullah. In this case the children receive names of persons connected in one way or another with
• 852 Mohammed. Circumcision takes place in the fifth year. On
304 the occasion of propitious births the Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not
844 forget to arrange a feast and to celebrate this event.

Funerals are quite simple. The deceased is placed on the
764 left side of the yurt (near the entrance) behind a partition of chiy grass, and couriers are sent through the villages with the news. All those acquainted in any degree with the deceased consider /220/ it their duty to visit the deceased without fail, since by this (according to Moslem law) the sins of the deceased and of the visitor himself are alleviated. The friends of the deceased who are his contemporaries make the ablutions, and for this they receive his clothing. The others usually weep loudly and express their condolences to his family. They wrap the dead in a white sheet (or silk) called "akhret" (i.e., "the end of the world," or the clothing of the other world) and fasten it with string at the head, waist, and feet. After this he is carried out of the village to an open place, laid on the ground in such a way that the face is toward the southwest (in the direction of Mecca), i.e., the head at the northeast, and the body not flat on its back but slightly on the side (on the
[782] shoulder). Here the prayer "dzhanata" (the liberation of the soul) is read in Arabic. The mullah usually asks: "was he (the deceased) without sin?" To which those present reply: "He was
[783] without sin." If he was sinful, the mullah proposes that the sins of the deceased be redeemed with livestock. Formerly this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah.

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 873 782 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135] 852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

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[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Great Horde]

782 rejoicing and celebration, while if it was a girl, no celebration at all took place.[136]

602 782 The wife never ceased to maintain a significant relationship with her father's family, and she was never fully incorporated as a member of her husband's lineage and family. The fire ceremonial may be regarded in the same light as it is elsewhere on the steppe; its function is a propitiation by the wife of the spirits of the husband's line, a part of the shamanist religion, in which her spirits were antipathetic to his. Sociologically as well as religiously, moreover, the wife continued [682] to retain her ties to her father's line. Thus if the husband killed his wife, he had to pay a fine of a full kun of 200 horses, the amount paid by a convicted murderer [762] in restitution to the family of the victim.[137] If the wife committed suicide because of her husband's maltreatment, the husband paid half a kun, or 100 horses, to her family.[138]

582 583 581 The social position of the wife may be further clarified by an examination of the kalym. If this were an economic and legal transaction pure and simple, her position would be clear: she would have to be regarded as a res or chattel, and kalym could then be translated as

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136 Radloff, op. cit., I, 475-477.

137 Iarastsov, 67.

138 Ibid., 93.

428 For the most part the father gives his oldest
son preference, but this depends on his good
[178] will. Divisions of families used to be en-
countered more rarely, for danger forced them
to move as nomads with large auls. Now this
reason for keeping together is considerably
less urgent, and ties of kinship in general are
beginning to lose their importance.

844 Birth. The Kazakh appears in the world
without causing any particular worries to his
relatives. Only when there is a difficult
[754] birth do they call in the assistance of their
own doctors, that is, conjurers and sorcerers.
It is self-evident that in most cases their
devices are actually harmful. In fortunate
cases they consist only of whisperings and
grimaces, but in more decisive instances more
846 violent measures are taken. In most cases
little peace is allowed the woman who has borne
the child. Rest before and after delivery is
553 set at a very short period. The mother has
/342/ only one right: to name her newborn child.
She does this in a very original way, acting
entirely upon inspiration, often naming the
child after the first object she happens to
look at after the birth. As a result names
occur like It-Ayak, that is, dog's leg, and
so forth. Sometimes, however, they name them
for Moslem saints, adding to the name the word
Ir (Man), thus- Ir Ali, Ir Mohammed, and so on.

852 Circumcision is performed according to
Moslem law while the mullahs read prayers, and
in general is circumcision inaugurated by
festivities, but does not occur until after
the third year.

000 Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially